1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

Egypt, hints of a claim to nationhood itself put forward by Arab *émigrés* in Paris—all these, with developing intercommunication and greater awareness of world thought, had prepared the ground for nationalism in 'Iraq even before the final impetus of the Turkish revolution.

The 1908 revolution, while it created an active Turkish-political life in 'Iraq, soon indicated also the gulf between Turkish and Arab aspirations. An 'Arab Brotherhood' group, formed in the first Turkish Chamber, was summarily suppressed by the Young Turks; the proportion of Arab to Turkish deputies and senators in Parliament was unjustly low. Incoming Walis of the 'Iraq wilayas showed less sympathy than ever with decentralization or the suggested use of Arabic; more 'Iraqis than ever groaned at the hateful prospect of conscription in Turkish armies—perhaps to fight brother Arabs in the endless warfare of the Yaman. It followed that the politicians of 'Iraq soon after 1908 began to mix various strains of Arab separatism with their pro- or anti-C.U.P. polemics: and to treat seriously tentative ideas of greater local privilege, a higher proportion of appointments, wider local powers and, finally, local autonomy itself.

For such claims there was basis in Arab character and culture, in 'Iraq's geographical separateness, and perhaps still more in the personal aspirations of ambitious 'Iraqis, who could imagine a great career in an Arab or 'Iraqi State more easily than in a Turkish. Meanwhile there were the beginnings of contact with coteries formed abroad to foster Arab ambitions and to frame demands. Such were the secret but short-lived Qaḥtaniya in Istanbul, whose members favoured an Arab Kingdom within the Turkish Empire, and such the Young Arab Society which, moved from Paris to Beirut in 1913, was to play a heroic part in 1915. More important in 'Iraq were the local circles in contact with the Ottoman Decentralization Party of Cairo: a society which, founded in 1912 with its conception of local autonomy within the Empire, came nearest to expressing the political ambitions of the 'Iraqis of the day, and took root in Baghdad and Baṣra. The relations of Arab officers in Turkish regiments with their brother officers became strained, and 'Iraqi Qa'immaqams found odious the task of applying Turkish repressive measures. From 1910 to 1914 a surprising development of the press in 'Iraq marked the new political age. In place of the half-dozen colourless official newspapers of the wilaya capitals and Najf in Ḥamidiyan times, sheets of every colouring appeared in Arabic or Turkish month by month, to a final total of some fifty; they advocated various programmes—brilliant or foolish and always irresponsible—of pan-Islam, local or pan-Arab nationalism, Turkish patriotism or anti-

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foreign suspicion. A number of 'Iraqi officers and young 'notables', who were later to attain high positions under the 'Iraq Government, were active in these politics before 1914.

Of the three wilaya capitals Mosul showed at first the least enthusiasm for the Arab Movement, dominated as it was by families of the old régime, reactionary 'Ulamā, and a deep hinterland of Kurds. Baghdad political society was split into half a dozen factions—the pro-Turk (C.U.P., Liberal, or Ḥamidiyan), the Decentralizing, those in close touch with Syria, those with Egypt, those with Baṣra, and from somewhere among all these a secret Arab Patriotic Party was formed in 1912 with a vague programme of autonomy. In the Holy Cities the Mujtahid leadership, professedly eschewing all worldly politics, was little interested in an Arab nationalism which could offer it nothing, though driven at times to favour it by detestation of all things Turkish. The priesthood adopted in general a line of anti-Christian xenophobia, with a measure of positive pan-Islamism, while the Shi'i tribes hoped only for the joys of non-government.

Baṣra, farthest from Turkish interests and nearest to independent Arabia, took an unquestioned lead in the Arab Movement. It was inspired or terrorized by Sayid Ṭalib, a younger son of the venerated local Naqib family. An able, charming, unscrupulous and ambitious statesman, gang-leader, and patriot, he had been Mutaṣarrif of al-Aḥsā, had close contacts in Najd, Kuwayt, and Muḥammara and dominated Baṣra. He was at the opening of the century already well known in Istanbul as a man of the highest promise or danger, prepared to adopt whatever allegiances would favour his rise to an independent Amirate of southern 'Iraq. He reversed, after a year, his first adherence to the C.U.P., became its bitterest enemy, and sought to be at once the leading agent of Istanbul in his wilaya, and the first of Arab patriots. In 1912 he made overtures to the British in Egypt and in Simla, in 1913 was active in collecting war funds for the Turkish armies and declaring his support of the Empire. A month later he formed a Committee of National Defence, and communicated to the Wali and the Sadr-i-A'dham—Grand Wazir—a memorial pressing for the immediate summoning of a General Council of the wilaya 'to elaborate a scheme of reforms'.

In March 1913 spokesmen in Baghdad were organizing a 'united demand' for decentralization on the model just published amid applause by a strong Beirut Committee, and were watching anti-Turk placards exposed by night in the Baghdad streets. Sayid Ṭalib meanwhile convened at Muḥammara a meeting of himself, Shaykh Khaz'al of Muḥammara, Shaykh Mubarak of Kuwayt, and high officials of Baṣra wilaya, to formulate self-government proposals.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

563 battalion, and to the men's return to the sluggish pauperization of Ba'quba.

871 The Education branch, founded and first inspired by Major H. E. Bowman, was faced with the problem of providing schooling for the youth of 'Iraq in the absence of funds, buildings, books, equipment or teachers in a tithe of sufficient quantities. At a pace always disappointing, but the fastest financially or functionally practicable, primary schools aiming at fair standards were opened to a total of seventy-five by the end of 1919. Fifty-six of these taught in Arabic, eleven in Turkish, seven in Kurdish, one in Persian. The new-founded Teachers' Training College could supply but a part of their urgent needs, and the scale of secondary classes, confined to the three principal cities, was regrettably humble; nor was the country-wide penetration of 'politics' into the schools, thus early, less to be deplored. Means were found to reopen the Law School, and a commercial and a technical school. The many privately-conducted Mullās' schools, archaic in method, scope, and equipment, continued to produce a bare literacy in their thousands of pupils; but the temptation to multiply inferior Government schools was resisted, and the teaching of English almost wholly withheld in spite of a general clamour for it. Upon the desirability of girls' schools, Muslim opinion was at first divided; five, all primary, had been opened by the first weeks of 1920. The schools of the local Christian and Jewish minorities and those of the foreign missions were fostered by support and subsidy; some of these were of high standard. Some archaeological work was carried out by R. Campbell Thompson at Abu Shahrayn (Eridu) in the spring of 1918, and more under H. R. Hall at Ur and elsewhere in 1919.

204 Printing-presses were operating at Najf in 1918, at Sulaymaniya in 1919, and in Baṣra, Baghdad, and Mosul from the occupation of these places. Newspapers in English were published at Baghdad and Baṣra, in Arabic at those cities and Mosul, in Turkish at Kirkuk, in Kurdish at Sulaymaniya.

439 The great increase of goods entering 'Iraq in 1918–19 taxed the young Customs administration of C. R. Watkins and Major A. G. H. Sievwright to the utmost. It was due to cessation of imports into north Persia from Russia, to the increase of 'Iraq's own spending power, and to the general depletion of stocks by war [436] interruption. The Indian rupee, now the universal currency of 'Iraq, supplied an adequate medium; and the rising volume of [504] civilian traffic could be handled easily by the now fully developed Port of Baṣra, which as such came into existence under Colonel J. C. Ward in the autumn of 1919 and was soon afterwards transferred 000 to the Civil Administration. The Railways, when at their greatest

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652 moment when the public of a new State would hope for eager development. Hospitals and dispensaries must, for the time, be barely maintained: schools could be only slightly increased, secondary and technical education could expand far less than the public desire and need indicated. The Ministry of Health and Education was divided into two, that of Health later to become a mere Department of Interior. Few public works, it was evident, could be attempted; roads must remain rough unsurfaced tracks. The Agricultural Department could but continue its work of research and demonstration upon a minor scale, that of Irrigation must be content with maintenance and minor works.

631 In the liwās,[1] the alterations from Turkish administrative units and their grouping which had been made in the period from 1917 to 1920 were gradually reintroduced. The status of Sulaymaniya, as will be seen, varied from month to month. Kut, detached from Baghdad, became a liwā early in 1922. Arbil, a sub-liwā of Kirkuk in 1921, was separated from it in 1923. Diwaniya broke off from Ḥilla. No more was heard of Baṣra separatism. The Divisional Councils of pre-insurrection days were dead; the Turkish 'Administrative Councils' of officials and notables returned to life at each liwā and qaḍhā. 'Iraqi administrative officials, Mutaṣarrifs and Qa'immaqams, set to work amicably in most areas with their British colleagues, who, almost to a man, loyally supported the new régime; but in the provinces, as in the central Government, the difficulties of divided control were soon, though not everywhere, to manifest themselves.

632 In the municipalities, a number of the services installed by the British Army were passed over to the Mayors and their Councils. The latter from early in 1922 were no longer nominated but once again chosen by election under the reintroduced Turkish regulations. Municipal pride developed, and signs of keen local initiative —cramped, unfortunately, by poverty—were apparent in the three 204 larger and many smaller towns. Newspapers, all privately owned save at Kirkuk and Sulaymaniya, began to multiply; and an 'Iraq 747 *Government Gazette* came into being. Literary and charitable 814 institutions revived or came to birth, designed not least to combat

[1] The British Administrative Inspectors in liwās or in the Ministry of Interior, early in 1923, were: C. J. Edmonds, G. V. B. Gillan, C. C. Aston,* S. G. C. Murray, H. M. Flaxman, E. C. H. Alban,* W. A. Lyon,* A. F. Miller,* E. S. Berry,* L. Kettlewell, S. E. Hedgcock, H. C. Pulley, R. E. Alderman,* W. C. F. A. Wilson,* L. M. Yetts, G. C. Kitching,* J. F. D. Jeffreys, L. W. Reed, S. H. Longrigg, A. H. Ditchburn,* H. I. Lloyd,* and R. F. Jardine.*

Those marked * were still so employed in 1927, with the addition of C. Grice, A. J. B. Chapman, J. B. Glubb (p. 291). Gillan, Murray, Flaxman, Kettlewell, Reed, and Jeffreys had left 'Iraq, Pulley had died, and Longrigg and Hedgcock had moved to Finance. Thereafter no more Administrative Inspectors were recruited, except R. S. Stafford (1928–33), from the Sudan.

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642 therefore, nor to any Western observer did it occur in 1920 not to install the forms of government both familiar at home and seemingly demanded in 'Iraq. Nevertheless, this most exacting of constitutional forms was now seen to be acclimatizing itself in 'Iraq with difficulty and with mixed immediate results. If it is true that the virtues of the system are everywhere appreciated, and no better alternative has been discovered by the modern world, yet, to be in fact representative and democratic, it demands certain conditions. 181 Did these exist in 'Iraq? There was, certainly, a long Arab tradi- 665 tion of tribesmen's democracy and easy access to rulers. Free 204 speech, a vigorous and copious press, busy parties, 'demonstrations' in every street and school: all these could be claimed as democratic features of Baghdad life. But with what truth? The press was ill informed, irresponsible, rabidly partisan, crudely xenophobe. The demonstrations were organized, easily and cheaply, at any politician's direction. The parties were, so far, mere cliques of personalities, without continuity or breadth of organization or any consistent policy unless that of mere Anglophobia. Freedom of speech was allowed to extreme, rarely to moderate, views; violence or boycott awaited the exponent of any policy, however wise or sincere, if it seemed to fail in nationalist fervour. It was indeed doubtful whether one educated 'Iraqi in a hundred conceived society on truly democratic lines or, given power, would have wished so to organize it. Their nature was individualistic and insubordinate, their tradition authoritarian, and the conditions in 648 their society inimical to democracy. The representatives in the 666 Chamber itself were in fact selected less by the votes of an instructed electorate, which did not exist, than by the nomination of the Cabinet in power; the list conveyed to the Mutaṣarrifs as that of Government-sponsored candidates was, with infrequent exceptions, that of the Deputies.

642 It resulted that in 1932 the Government of 'Iraq consisted of 662 a façade of democratic forms behind which, emerging from the stresses, strains, and violences of faction and egoism, operated the actual power of a small ruling class: a class which contained on the one hand more than enough figures capable of filling the ministerial posts available, but on the other too little variety of viewpoint to compete for power by the advocacy of genuinely alternative programmes. The result was an uneasy shuffle of offices, short-lived Cabinets with a brief innings for everybody, and the fortunes of Ministries dependent not on the attitude of representative Deputies capable of a gesture of dismissal, but on personal faction behind their backs. It was already clear that if ever the only authoritative hand not involved in these uneasy intrigues should be removed—that of the King—there would be opportunity, or almost inevita-

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19,000 in 1945, largely by the addition of nearly 5,000 men to the Mobile Force. In the Social services the tendency was still towards such limited development and improvement of the personnel as was feasible, though budget allotments to Education were reduced to a third, and those of the Health service to a quarter, of the funds made available for Defence.

The release of the remaining 'Amara internees in mid-1944 and at intervals in 1945 made its contribution to the resurgent political activity of the time. The fourth member of the Golden Square, Ṣalaḥ al-Din Ṣabbagh, was handed over by the Turks and hanged in September 1945. Naji Shawkat, captured in Italy, was brought to Baghdad and began to serve his sentence; Rashid 'Āli, refused entrance into Switzerland, contrived to reach Sa'udi Arabia by way of Lebanon and there, sheltered by the traditional Arab attitude to guests seeking sanctuary, could defy demands for extradition. The activity of the Baghdad press and the multiplication of its daily sheets from five to fourteen was both effect and partial cause of the reanimation of the political scene which had well begun before 8 May 1945, the date of the armistice with Germany. The old-fashioned catch-words of 'imperialism', 'the foreigner', and 'complete independence' reappeared in a thousand bitter leading articles, the situation in Palestine and Syria gave congenial topics, and the economic frustrations of the time—and indeed all of the nation's backwardness and inequalities—were, it appeared, the fault of nothing but the sinister machinations of the British. The demand for the re-formation of political parties was heard on every side, and with it the removal of all restrictions and the early revision of the Treaty with Great Britain as being no longer compatible with 'Iraq's present status.

Communism, never extinguished in Baghdad even when outlawed in 1938, gained ground perceptibly in the later war years. Communists had supported Rashid 'Āli in 1941, but on the Nazi invasion of Russia had temporarily abandoned the anti-British for the Allied cause, and remained in the cities as a living though mainly clandestine force. One such organization was the League of 'Iraqi Communists which, catering for an educated membership, followed the lawyer Da'ud al-Ṣayigh; another, the 'Iraqi Communist Party under the Christian 'Comrade Fahad' (the Panther), alias Yusif Salman, produced the secretly-printed *al-Qa'ida* newspaper. The movement gained adherents in Kurdistan, where the proximity of the Russians in north-west Persia attracted the hopeful interest of anti-Arab nationalist students and of Aghās now learning to despair of British intervention on their behalf. It spread in Baghdad and the chief cities among the poor and thwarted (not least among the Assyrian, Armenian, and Jewish minorities),

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antiquities, Kurdish lore and tribal traditions, some of whom had produced monographs of interest and value. Returning graduates from foreign universities had reached, at the least, the standard indicated by their doctorates, but few had been attracted by the deeper or more humane culture of the West. The study of Islamic dogma and history was still practised in both Sunni and Shi'i circles of the professional divines, and still attracted pupils; but its seeming divorce from the living world repelled the more active and vital of the rising generation; it offered a career less interesting than the professions or politics; and its appeal was without force to a society in which Islam seemed to have lost much (and in politics nearly all) of its hold. Professional standards, on the other hand, in medicine, archaeology, police and military studies, engineering, economics, and the applied sciences had risen beyond comparison above those of a generation earlier, and gave scope for the best qualities of the 'Iraqi mind.

The output of original literary work was small. The modern (linotype) presses installed since the Second World War produced mainly governmental or institutional works or pamphlets, largely educational. Western publishing methods were not in use; books were printed at the author's expense and sold with difficulty through a bookseller; workmanship in book production, especially in binding and illustration, was notably poor. The lack of demand (especially after the Jewish exodus), the unwillingness of the rich to patronize letters, and at times a capricious censorship, had discouraged writers; there were but humble traces of creative effort, and these confined to the fields of poetry (in which 'Iraq had always held its own in the Arab world) and to a lesser extent of fiction writing; women writers had earned a place in both. Interest in contemporary Arabic literature other than newspapers was slight, and the study of earlier Arabic works, though regarded as something of a national asset, did not greatly attract a younger generation, who preferred the writings of modern Europe. The dozen of monthly or quarterly magazines, which appeared at Hilla, Mosul, Basra, Najf, Arbil, and Kirkuk as well as at Baghdad, were in most cases the organs of various societies or government departments, and though competently written they had few subscribers and no great literary pretension. Kurdish literary activity, though on a diminutive scale, was of vitality and promise. 'Iraqi artists, on the other hand, were producing work of some interest, if almost wholly Western in inspiration; musical and dramatic studies were pursued at the Institute of Fine Arts, and more than one 'Iraqi musician—and at least one 'Iraqi cinema actress—had attained a creditable place.

The circumstances of its public life and the lively intelligence of

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its educated class should have made the 'Iraqi press both high in quality and great in influence. It was, in fact, superabundant in quantity, with dozens of ephemeral sheets appearing and vanishing, and it was written not infrequently with point and humour; but journalism had on the whole, it seemed, failed to attract the best minds and brains of the country, and as a profession was ill regarded by the public. With rare exceptions[1] inconsistency was habitual, and the selection and presentation of news capricious and unskilful and lacking in Western—or even Egyptian or Lebanese—technique. A news-service was scarcely attempted, and mere political rhetoric and the wearisome use of outworn phrases took the place of fact, analysis, or sober comment. Broadcasting from Radio Baghdad, which after 1951 used the new and fully modern transmitting station of Abu Ghurayb, offered daily a ten-hour Arabic, a three-hour Kurdish, and a one-hour or half-hour English programme. The service, though still uneven, had improved materially in recent years in editing and in reliable audibility. It was aided by some of the best among 'Iraqi writers, and was rich in its Arabic musical programme; but frequent administrative changes had affected its quality and continuity, and many listeners preferred to hear foreign stations, notably London, Paris, and the *Sharq al-adnā* station of Cyprus.

The educational system operating in 1950 represented, with whatever shortcomings, the considerable outcome of a sustained and meritorious effort. An immense work lay ahead: but the period of slow and difficult beginnings lay behind, and ground was being yearly gained. The faults of 'Iraqi education were those of superficiality, impatience, indifferent standards, and the persistent infusion—unchecked by legal prohibitions—of 'politics' in the schools. Its virtues were those of genuine enthusiasm, the use of modern techniques, and much improved teaching and supervisory staffs. Many and better school buildings were, it was hoped, soon to follow. Instruction was free at all levels, the governing Regulations modernized, and primary education in theory compulsory. The High Council of Instruction, representative of all the higher institutions of learning, assisted the Minister and his Directors-

[1] The best of the papers were two or three independents, notably *al-Zaman* and *al-Sha'b* and those associated with the political parties. The latter were the moderate *al-Ittihad al-Dasturi*, *al-Akhbar*, and the evening *al-Hawadith* of the Constitutional Union Party: *al-Umma* and *al-Nabā*, of the Socialist Party of the Nation; *Liwā al-Istiqlal*, of the Independence Party: the near-Communist *Ṣadā al-Ahali*, of the National Democratic Party: and the *Jabha al-Sha'biya*, of the Popular Front. These papers appeared in 1951 to be fairly stable and self-supporting and, being party organs, relatively immune from Government suppression. Provincial daily papers included three (and often more) each at Baṣra and Mosul, and others at Sulaymaniya and Kirkuk, in the languages there spoken; they attained a fair standard.

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and 286 in the period 1904 to 1914.[1] In Egypt and in the United States, the Arabic press,[2] with a wide circulation even in the Ottoman Empire,[3] was a powerful agent, by its constant and bitter denunciation of the Turks, in arousing Nationalist sentiment among Arab peoples.[4]

In 'Iraq, no less than in Syria and Arabia, the 'Ottomanizing' policy of the Young Turks stimulated the Nationalist Movement. It continued, however, to lag behind the Movement across the desert, even as it had been slower to develop. Cut off by its geographical position and by its lack of communication from the West, 'Iraq lay torpid, a potentially rich Turkish Siberia but lacking educational facilities and the stimulus of new ideas and of political thought such as prevailed along the Mediterranean coast. Conservative in thought, the Sunnī Muslims were slow to withdraw their political allegiance from the Sultan whom both religion and tradition had established as their religious head.[5] The Shī'a priesthood, Persian for the most part, hated the Osmanlis both as Sunnīs and as oppressors, but possessed little community of interest with the Arabs, although Arabs of the Shī'a sect formed a majority of the population of 'Iraq.

The social structure, based fundamentally on the soil, and not far removed from feudalism, was stony ground for Nationalism. Landlords sought only relief from taxation. Shaikhs desired individual freedom for themselves and their tribes. Merchants, principally Jews, perhaps the most progressive single element in the land, had little deep feeling for either

[1] The life of a journal during the Turkish regime was often not long, particularly if in opposition to the Government. Suppressed journals frequently reappeared under new names.

[2] From 1904 to 1914, 385 Arabic newspapers and magazines were founded in Egypt, North and South America: Tarazi, op. cit.

[3] Although banned from Turkey, they were distributed through the foreign post offices.

[4] Djemal Pasha, in particular, resented the part played by the Arabic Press abroad: Turkish Red Book, *La Vérité sur la Question Syrienne*, pp. 12-13.

[5] *Infra*, p. 235, for typical view on the sanctity of the Ottoman regime.

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Talib might nullify the decision reached at Cairo: the final effort of H.M. Government to settle the future status of 'Iraq.

The action of the High Commissioner convinced the great mass of the 'Iraqīs that the British authorities would not hesitate to use strong measures if the occasion demanded it. This widespread conviction probably did more to ensure the acquiescence of the masses of the population in Faisal's candidature, once it was announced, than the absence of Talib Pasha's opposition or the existence of any definite desire among them for a son of the Sharīf of Mecca. In any case Faisal's prospects of success immediately improved. The Naqīb withdrew his opposition to a Hāshimī, declaring that it would be best to follow the wishes of H.M. Government. A moderate Sharifian party having a definite programme was formed, with the approval of the High Commissioner who, while aware of the immense influence which the Sharifians could exert in creating and enlarging public opinion for Faisal, also realized the necessity of controlling them and of preventing the extremists from using Faisal for their own ends in opposition to the Mandate. Encouragement to the Sharifians was also extended by the vernacular press, particularly by *Ash-Sharq*, under the editorship of the Secretary to the Council of State;[1] by *Al-'Iraq* which took the most prominent part;[2] by *Lisān al-'Arab* which, under its editor, Ibrāhīm Hilmī al-'Umarī, was pro-Faisal and, for the moment, pro-British;[3] and by *Al-Auqāt al-'Irāqīya* of Basra and *Al-Mūsil* of Mōsul.[4] The *Baghdad Times*, the English newspaper owned by the Government, also published a few pro-Faisal articles.

In the creation of sentiment on behalf of Amīr Faisal and in

[1] Established August 30th, 1920, by Saiyid Husain al-Afnan.

[2] See particularly its issues of April 25th, 26th, 28th, 29th; May 4th, 7th, 9th to 13th, 21st, 23rd; June 4th, 13th, 14th.

[3] Originally published in Damascus, its editor had transferred it to Baghdad, its first number, 401, appearing on June 23rd, 1921. It had not always given its support to Faisal as King of 'Iraq. Cf. issue of November 13th, 1920.

[4] Founded in 1921 and on November 14th, 1918, respectively. Both were owned by the Government.